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men than war. They want no more of it. "Never again!" says the British Premier. Never again, echo the words in every human breast. We may now look, therefore, for other and higher adventures among the nations to the end that the peace of justice may be attained. This inquiring, persistent justice knocks at the gates of the nations and will yet be heard. At this Christmas tide she lays her hands upon the hearts of men as never before, for men awoken now in the morning and close their eyes at night saying to themselves with gladsome iteration, the war is over.

AMERICA'S MESSAGE TO VERSAILLES

AMERICA has a message to the plenipotentiaries convening in Paris. That message is capable of definition, elaborately if you choose, simply if you will. That message flows from the history out of which America with its free, sovereign independent States has developed, for we must remember, and the world now needs to know, that in the latter part of the 18th century thirteen States existed on this side of the Atlantic, each with its interests, local prejudices and problems, united at first that they might wage war successfully against Great Britain but finally that they might establish justice and assure the blessings of liberty. They had come together at first for purposes of efficiency, but towards the end of the war they finally succeeded in forming a union, the chief motive for which gradually developed into little more than a mere desire that something might exist in the nature of government which England could at the close of the war recognize. Immediately following the treaty of peace in 1783, this union sank gradually into insignificance, the States returning to their individual affairs. The result was lamentable. The public debt which had been incurred in a most sacred cause aroused little interest among the States. The inefficiency of the union was the butt of European statesmen. Inability to regulate commerce between themselves, presented problems facing the nations today. There were rival, conflicting and anger-provoking regulations involving matters of right such as the transportation of goods across States to purchasers far away. Connecticut taxed imports from Massachusetts higher than those from Great Britain. Some of the States drafted separate treaties with the Indians, indeed went to war with Indians without reference to the central government. James Madison is our authority for the indictment that there were violations of contract of various kinds, some involving a depreciated paper currency, the substitution of property for money, even the closing of courts of justice. There was little uniformity of opinion and practice.

Credit decayed at home and abroad. The patched-up union gave signs of utter disintegration. There was a condition of international anarchy.

Confronted with such an international situation at the close of our Revolution there was wisdom enough in those days to solve it. Harassed by economic difficulties they set about the business of overcoming them. Virginia was denied the right to use the Potomac River by Maryland, who backed her claims by an appeal to her charter. A meeting of men was called in 1785, a meeting of representatives of Maryland and Virginia, at Alexandria. George Washington, interested in the proceedings of their convention, entertained them at Mount Vernon. As a result of the deliberations in that convention, another convention of representatives of the various States was seen to be necessary, and upon the invitation of the State of Virginia a call was sent to the other twelve States to attend a conference for their mutual advantage to be held the following year, 1786, at Annapolis. The Annapolis meeting was attended by delegates of but five of the States, but among those delegates were such giants as James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Dickinson. Upon their initiative it was that efforts to bring about a more representative conference were successful. By their energy and upon certain evidences of actual rebellion in Massachusetts and elsewhere, the Congress was prevailed upon to call officially for a meeting of delegates from all of the States, to a conference in Philadelphia on the second Monday of May, 1787, for the "sole" purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation. But they did much more than that. They set up for themselves a successful law-governed world.

This convention of 1787 stands out as America's distinct contribution to the world situation now before us. For the real problems facing us now faced them then. If the task seems impossible to us, it seemed impossible to them. The problem which faces us and which faced them is the problem of the establishment of a more perfect society of nations, granting powers to such a society separate from the powers of each State, at the same time providing for the interdependence of both society and the States. That problem was solved in 1787 by the intelligence of fifty-five men backed by the spirit of goodwill and compromise. The record of the convention has fortunately been preserved for us in what may appropriately be called the greatest of political treatises, namely James Madison's *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*. These remarkable Notes tell the story of the successful international conference which accomplished matchless political results of an international nature, more significant for the men about to reorganize the world than any other political experience of the race.

The problems facing the world today grow from the fact that States are free, sovereign and independent. The thirteen States of the American Union in 1787 were free, sovereign and independent. The inequality of States today, the difficulty of organizing a society of nations in a way acceptable to the large States and at the same time just to the small, was the stumbling-block that impaired the success of the Second Peace Congress at The Hague in 1907. Had it not been for this difficulty the world would have long since had an international court of justice deciding issues between States in accordance with the principles of law and equity. This issue, due to the difficulty between large and small States, faced the convention of 1787. It was successfully met then and we are therefore led to believe that it may be successfully met again. Further, shall we set up an organ for the coercion of States? This is one of the outstanding questions of our day. It was an outstanding question then. Further, since most of the causes of wars between States begin in political rather than in justiciable questions, what method of international organization can be devised to meet and overcome those political dangers? That question is also a live question today. It was a live question in 1787. In short, to use Benjamin Franklin's words written to an English friend in October, 1787, describing the convention in which he was engaged for four months, we too, like men of that day have "many interests to reconcile." As far as the relation of States is concerned, and this is the outstanding problem of our day, we shall in the large profit by their experience and do what they did. We shall, in brief, gradually develop a law-making organization for the nations and also a law-interpreting body; for the end and aim of States is justice based upon law. The law, therefore, must be stated and the law must be interpreted. We must have a law-making body. We must have a law-interpreting body, a legislature, and a judiciary for the society of nations. The importance of these two agencies for the promotion of peace between the thirteen original free, sovereign and independent States of the union was so apparent to the delegates at Philadelphia as to arouse no dissension. No American, after these one hundred and thirty years of the life of the more-perfect union, questions the wisdom of their work in this regard. The successful organization of the thirteen States in that day is the outstanding object lesson for those interested in perfecting the society of nations in this day. They settled questions of sovereignty by retaining for the States the sovereignty they desired and by granting to the union only the delegated sovereignty which they were willing to relinquish. Their successful solution of the inequality of States is familiar to every American who knows the historical difference

between the Senate and the House of Representatives. The government which they set up, as Mr. Madison points out in his Notes, was neither national nor federal, but both. In its foundations it is federal, not national. In sources of its powers it is federal and national. In its operation it is national, not federal. In the extent of its powers it is federal, not national. As to its method of adopting amendments it is neither wholly federal nor wholly national. They recognized that there is only one way to coerce States, that is by war. They knew full well, however, that some method of coercion was necessary if law is to be of any avail. They met this situation by enabling the more-perfect union through its courts to reach by the sovereignty of the State to the individual. They recognized that crime is personal, that the coercion of law against States is war, and war they purposed to overcome and abolish. Thus they provided for the coercion, where necessary, of individuals but not of States. That later there was war between the States was due to no defect in their logic in this particular, but rather to the lack of clearness of definition in an entirely different matter. Happily the nations may look to America also for the solution of that other and now seemingly insurmountable difficulty, namely, the method of meeting political questions by the judicial mode. The difficulty here is, as a matter of fact, very easy to overcome. As clearly pointed out by Mr. Justice Baldwin in the case of Rhode Island against Massachusetts, decided in 1838, political questions when submitted by mutual consent to the court for adjudication, do by that act become justiciable. Thus there is no question which cannot be settled in accordance with the principles of law and equity, granted that the parties wish so to settle it.

Thus we repeat, America has a contribution for all interested in the establishment of justice between nations. That contribution which America has to offer is America. The plenipotentiaries at Versailles need to know this history, because it is the great outstanding object lesson in international co-operation. If our fathers could adjust questions of sovereignty to the satisfaction of forty-eight free, independent, and sovereign States, and adjust, to the satisfaction of all, the difficulties between large and small States, showing the path along which coercion must operate for the establishment of justice, opening the way for all questions to be solved by the sweet reasonableness of law and equity, these things can be done for other States by similarly-minded men seeking the way for that more-perfect society of nations where the methods of war may no longer be necessary.

Through this war we have seen the spirit of co-operative humanity expressing itself gloriously on the field of battle, in the behavior of women. We have seen it in the agencies for relief which together make up the sacra-

ment of the nations. The glory of America is not reflected so much in her gold, her harvest, her things whatsoever. The glory that is hers shines in her eyes filled as they always have been, with the deep abiding passion of justice for great and small. It is there on the immortal pages of one hundred and forty-two years of generous political achievement. It immortalizes Chateau Thierry and the potentiality of democracies. It runs through the matchless heart of France to England and Italy, and of forward-looking peoples everywhere. It stands for all time the friend of law over force, of service over selfishness, of humanity over kings, of right over wrong. We may in humility hold up to the view of all the peoples, the glory that is America's, for as she has met and overcome seemingly insurmountable difficulties between States, her history offers healing unto the nations of the world.

PRESIDENT WILSON AT THE CONFERENCE

In the message which he gave in person to both houses of Congress, Dec. 2, before he left Washington on the 3rd for New York there to take ship for Brest and Paris, where he will for a time at least sit with the delegates to the Peace Conference as head of the delegation from the United States, President Wilson made two references to international relations. One had to do with the advisability of the United States ratifying a treaty with Colombia negotiated by the State Department some time ago and if made effective likely, in his opinion, to make the national attitude seem more consistent, not only to that republic, but also to its neighbors in Central and South America.

His other reference dealt with the coming Peace Conference and his reasons for attending it. On this point he said:

"I welcome this occasion to announce to the Congress my purpose to join in Paris the representatives of the governments with which we have been associated in the war against the Central Empires for the purpose of discussing with them the main features of the treaty of peace. I realize the great inconveniences that will attend my leaving the country, particularly at this time, but the conclusion that it was my paramount duty to go has been forced upon me by considerations which I hope will seem as conclusive to you as they seemed to me.

"The Allied Governments have accepted the bases of peace which I outlined to the Congress on the 8th of January last, as the Central Empires also have, and very reasonably desire my personal counsel in their interpretation and application, and it is highly desirable that I should give it in order that the sincere desire of our Government to contribute without selfish purpose of any kind to settlements that will be of com-

mon benefit to all the nations concerned may be made fully manifest. The peace settlements which are now to be agreed upon are of transcendent importance both to us and to the rest of the world, and I know of no business or interest which should take precedence of them. The gallant men of our armed forces on land and sea have consciously fought for the ideals which they knew to be the ideals of their country; I have sought to express those ideals; they have accepted my statements of them as the substance of their own thought and purpose, as the associated governments have accepted them; I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them, and no possible effort omitted to realize them. It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered their life's blood to obtain. I can think of no call to service which could transcend this.

"I shall be in close touch with you and with affairs on this side the water, and you will know all that I do. At my request, the French and English Governments have absolutely removed the censorship of cable news which until within a fortnight they had maintained, and there is now no censorship whatever exercised at this end except upon attempted trade communications with enemy countries. It has been necessary to keep an open wire constantly available between Paris and the Department of State and another between France and the Department of War. In order that this might be done with the least possible interference with the other uses of the cables, I have temporarily taken over the control of both cables in order that they may be used as a single system. I did so at the advice of the most experienced cable officials, and I hope that the results will justify my hope that the news of the next few months may pass with the utmost freedom and with the least possible delay from each side of the sea to the other.

"May I not hope, gentlemen of the Congress, that in the delicate tasks I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea, in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love, I may have the encouragement and the added strength of your united support? I realize the magnitude and difficulty of the duty I am undertaking; I am poignantly aware of its grave responsibilities. I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the best that is in me to the common settlements which I must now assist in arriving at in conference with the other working heads of the associated governments. I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement. I shall not be inaccessible. The cables and the wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and I shall be happy in the thought that I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal. I shall make my absence as brief as possible and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven."

The President will have as fellow commissioners the Secretary of State, Robert Lansing; Edward M. House, now the President's representative at the Supreme War